

## Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 JOHANN 01958 281544Z  
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /072 W  
-----116551 281630Z /44

R 281305Z JUL 77  
FM AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6473  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE JOHANNESBURG 1958

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SF  
SUBJECT: SOWETO COMMITTEE OF TEN PRESSES FOR SELF RULE

REF: JOHANNESBURG 1814

1. SUMMARY: IN TALKS WITH THREE INDIVIDUALS INTIMATELY CONCERNED WITH SOWETO'S COMMITTEE OF TEN, IT WAS MADE CLEAR THE SOWETO LEADERSHIP IS FIRMLY UNITED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RULE AND WILL REJECT ANY SAG ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE ANY ALTERNATIVE THAT FALLS SHORT OF HOME-RULE (E.G., COMMUNITY COUNCILS). WHILE SOME DETAILS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TEN PROPOSALS ARE PERHAPS STILL NEGOTIABLE, THE COMMITTEE "WILL NOT RETREAT FROM THE PRINCIPLE OF IMMEDIATE SELF-RULE" AND WILL ACT TO DISCOURAGE ANY INDIVIDUAL OR POLITICAL GROUP INCLINED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS PROGRAM. AS EXPECTED, SAG HAS RESPONDED SO FAR WITH FIRM REJECTION OF COMMITTEE OF TEN DEMANDS AND ANNOUNCED PLANS TO PROCEED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY COUNCILS TO REPLACE URBAN BANTU COUNCILS. END SUMMARY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 JOHANN 01958 281544Z

2. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH PERCY QOBOZA, EDITOR OF WORLD NEWSPAPER, AND LEONARD MOSALA AND ELLEN KUZWAYO OF THE NEWLY FORMED SOWETO "COMMITTEE OF TEN" (REFTEL), IT WAS EMPHASIZED SOWETO REGARDED THE ISSUE OF "SELF-RULE" AS NON-NEGOTIABLE AND WHILE EXPECTING REJECTION FROM THE SAG, CONSIDERED IT "MORE IMPORTANT TO BE FIRM AND DIGNIFIED IN DEFEAT THAN SACRIFICE PRINCIPLE."

3. THE COMMITTEE OF TEN WAS CHOSEN FROM AMONG 300 OR SO SOWETO COMMUNITY LEADERS, INCLUDING THE BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION AND THE SOWETO STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL, AND MET ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO TO FORMULATE A BLUEPRINT FOR SOWETO SELF-RULE IN THE FACE OF SAG PLANS TO ESTABLISH COMMUNITY COUNCILS (SUBJECT OF SEPTTEL) TO REPLACE UBC'S. COMMITTEE OF TEN, COMPOSED OF SOME OF SOWETO'S MOST RESPECTED LEADERSHIP, CAN CLEARLY COUNT ON MANDATE FROM MAJORITY OF SOWETO POPULATION TO PRESS TO ACHIEVE GOAL OF BLACK RULE IN URBAN TOWNSHIPS. AS SUCH, COMMITTEE OF TEN REGARDS THIS ENDEAVOR AS REPRESENTING ASPIRATIONS OF ALL BLACKS, COLOREDS, AND INDIANS THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA, BECAUSE IF SELF-RULE IS ACHIEVED IN SOWETO, SAG WILL HAVE TO PROCEED AND EXTEND PRINCIPLE TO OTHER ETHNIC TOWNSHIPS.

4. INITIATIVE FOR SOWETO BLUEPRINT APPARENTLY STEMMED FROM POWER VACUUM CAUSED BY UBC COLLAPSE AND SAG'S INTENTION TO REPLACE UBC WITH COMMUNITY COUNCILS BASED ON ETHNIC GROUPINGS. BECAUSE OF THEIR ETHNIC NATURE, COMMUNITY COUNCILS WERE SEEN TO BE MORE DETESTABLE THAN INNOCUOUS URBAN BANTU COUNCIL AND HENCE THE SOWETO EFFORT TO ANTICIPATE SAG PLAN.

5. WHEN THE SOWETO COMMITTEE OF TEN ANNOUNCED THE BLUEPRINT (DETAILS BY SEPTTEL) THEY ALSO REQUESTED AN APPOINTMENT WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER TO DISCUSS THE SOWETO INITIATIVE. PRIVATE TALKS WITH QOBOZA, MOSALA, AND KUZWAYO REVEALED SOME HOPE, ALTHOUGH CAUTIOUSLY EXPRESSED, THAT VORSTER OR SOME LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 JOHANN 01958 281544Z

MEMBER OF THE SAG WOULD RECEIVE A DELEGATION TO DISCUSS, AT THE VERY LEAST, THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RULE.

6. TWO BLACK LABOR LEADERS, EMMA MASHININI AND SKAKES SIKHIKHANE, TOLD CONGEN JULY 27 THAT WHILE BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS HAD BEEN "OVERLOOKED" IN FORMATION OF COMMITTEE OF TEN, THEY NEVERTHELESS STRONGLY SUPPORTED IT AND ITS PROPOSALS. SIKHIKHANE RATIONALIZED THAT IT WAS PROBABLY BETTER THAT BLACK LABOR LEADERS NOT BE DIRECTLY INVOLVED, SINCE THEY WERE ALREADY SO HIGH ON SAG'S HIT LIST THAT PREJUDICE COULD BE DONE COMMITTEE'S CHANCES FOR SUCCESS. LABOR LEADERS WERE SO MUCH IN CONFRONTATIONAL POSTURE WITH SAG NOW THAT THEIR OWN INTERESTS WERE BETTER SERVED BY BEING SUPPORTIVE, INDIRECTLY, OF COMMITTEE. MASHININI THOUGHT THAT IF COMMITTEE COULD ACHIEVE AUDIENCE WITH SAG AND OBTAIN SOME FEW INITIAL CONCESSIONS, IT COULD SURVIVE AND CONTINUE WITH SUPPORT OF SOWETO COMMUNITY. BUT SHE ADDED THAT FURTHER CONCESSIONS OF GREATER MAGNITUDE WOULD HAVE TO COME WITHIN REASONABLE TIME.

7. ADDITIONALLY, THE COMMITTEE OF TEN RECEIVED ENDORSEMENTS OF LIBERAL WHITE POLITICIANS SUCH AS SELMA BROWDE (MPC HOUGHTON) AND HELEN SUZMAN (MP HOUGHTON), BUT THE SAG RESPONDED TODAY

(JULY 28) WITH AN EMPHATIC "NO" AS DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU AFFAIRS CRUYWAGEN INDICATED HE WOULD PROBABLY NOT EVEN RECEIVE A DELEGATION FROM THE COMMITTEE OF TEN.

8. WHILE QOBOZA, MOSALA AND KUSWAYO EXPRESSED GUARDED HOPES THAT THE SAG WOULD CONSIDER BLUEPRINT, ALL MORE OR LESS REALISTICALLY AGREED COMMITTEE MUST BE FIRM IN ITS DEALINGS WITH SAG AND, IF REJECTED, THE CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SAG. IT WAS CLEARLY IMPLIED THESE CONSEQUENCES WOULD INCLUDE A CONTINUATION OF THE TENSION AND PERHAPS AND ESCALATION OF CROWD ACTION AND/OR TERRORISM.

9. COMMENT: WHILE CLAIMS OF POLITICAL UNITY IN THE URBAN AREAS SUCH AS SOWETO HAVE IN THE PAST GENERALLY BEEN PROVEN ILLUSORY, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 JOHANN 01958 281544Z

ON THE ISSUE OF SELF-RULE, AT LEAST, THERE SEEMS TO BE WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT AT THE MOMENT. THE SAG HAS COUNTERED COMMITTEE OF TEN CLAIMS OF SUPPORT WITH ITS OWN ESTIMATES OF SUPPORT FOR THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS AND EVEN VAGUELY MENTIONED ITS OWN UNIDENTIFIED "COMMITTEE OF THIRTEEN" OPPOSED TO THE COMMITTEE OF TEN. DESPITE SAG CLAIMS, EVERYBODY WHO IS ANYBODY IN SOWETO SEEMS TO STAND BEHIND THE COMMITTEE OF TEN, AND ESTIMATES OF RENEWED DEMONSTRATIONS AND VIOLENCE IF ITS PROGRAM IS REJECTED ARE PROBABLY ACCURATE.

10. COMMITTEE'S PUBLIC MEETING IN SOWETO JULY 31 WILL DISCLOSE SOMETHING MORE OF ITS FOLLOWING AND PERHAPS OF SAG ATTITUDE IN NATURE OF POLICE SURVEILLANCE AND ACTION.  
JOHNSON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** SELFDETERMINATION, COMMITTEES, DISSIDENT FACTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 28-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977JOHANN01958  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770270-1012  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** JOHANNESBURG  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770710/aaaaaiej.tel  
**Line Count:** 150  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 72f18662-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 77 JOHANNESBURG 1814  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1720665  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SOWETO COMMITTEE OF TEN PRESSES FOR SELF RULE  
**TAGS:** PINS, PINT, PDEV, SF  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/72f18662-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009